

Peace News

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HUDDLESTON and the Bomb

Conflict between faith and fear

From a Correspondent

THE hydrogen bomb deterrent was basically a policy of fear, Father Trevor Huddleston, of the Community of the Resurrection, told several hundred people who attended a Nuclear Disarmament Campaign meeting at the Victoria Hall, Halifax (Yorks), last week.

Arguments put forward for the retention of the hydrogen bomb in our own hands were weighty, said Father Huddleston, but they fell within definite limits which he could not accept.

There was the dangerous assumption that you could promote a permanent policy of peace upon the idea of permanent preparation for war.

He knew what fear as a basis of policy could do to people. It was precisely what they were up against in a country like South Africa, where a weighty minority view was persuaded that it was in mortal danger from a majority.

"What to many people here is the tension with regard to possibility of war or peace is something that we live with always in South Africa with regard to what is

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Anti-H-test ketch sails again

From Elinor Ashkenazy

ORION SHERWOOD, a 28-year-old science teacher, completed the crew of the Golden Rule when the small ketch sailed again this week for the Bikini-Eniwetok area of the Pacific Ocean to protest against American H-bomb tests.

The 30-foot Golden Rule was forced to return from its first try because of severe storms encountered a week after its February 10 departure.

Sherwood, the only unmarried member of the crew, is on the faculty of Oakwood School, a Quaker preparatory school at Poughkeepsie, N.Y. He is a graduate of the University of Utah with degrees in philosophy and engineering. He is a member of the Methodist Church and was formerly an associate pastor in a Methodist Church in Chicago. Sherwood, who registered as a conscientious objector in 1955, said that he is going on the protest voyage because of his belief that "this kind of action, taken out of love for the world's people, must replace the older way of violence."

The three other crew members are Quakers.

In some of his radio interviews, Bert Higelow has emphasised the fact that most of the world's people—millions of them—are on record as opposing H-bomb tests, and that only a handful of men press for their continuation. The crew see the voyage of the Golden Rule as action that speaks for this common wish, this urgent desire that bomb tests shall cease.

The protest voyage is sponsored by Non-Violent Action Against Nuclear Weapons with committee headquarters in Philadelphia, Pa.

Germans discuss strike against nuclear arms

SCIENTISTS APPEAL TO UNIONS

MORE voices are being added to the call for a general strike in Germany against nuclear armament.

Dr. Niemöller has written Peace News confirming the earlier report that he told the trade unions that if they wished to prevent a new war they should be ready to call a general strike.

At a mass meeting in Frankfurt on Sunday Herr Erich Ollenhauer, leader of the Social Democratic Party, said he would support a general strike against plans to give West German forces atomic weapons.

"Did the millions of victims of Hitler's régime serve only to make us think militaristically 12 years later, and increase the risk of certain death for everyone?" he asked.

The Chairman of the German Trades Union Congress, Herr Willi Richter, at the same meeting, agreed that a general strike was a possible means of meeting the issue.

During the meeting the huge crowd chanted repeatedly: "General strike, general strike..."

The Social Democratic youth organisation, the Falcons, at Stuttgart on March 23 called for a general strike in protest against nuclear armament. Young Socialist leaders were to press this view on Social Democratic deputies on March 24.

Members of the Transport and Municipal Workers' Union are already considering a demand for a ten-minute "warning strike" as an initial protest.

More than 1,000 of the Henschel heavy engineering workers began an unofficial strike against nuclear arms with a march through Kassel on Tuesday.

The mass meeting at Frankfurt was the beginning of a campaign which will include a series of meetings in towns and villages throughout the Federal Republic. The campaign is being conducted by the Committee for the Fight Against Atomic Death.

Dr. Albert Schweitzer is scheduled to speak at one of these meetings.

Support from churches

This campaign was launched in the midst of the hectic debate in the Bundestag on foreign affairs, when much of the attention was centred on the question of nuclear weapons.

The differences between the Government and the Opposition have deepened. The debate has been reported fully by most of the newspapers and has been broadcast on the German radio.

A strong body of opinion within the Evangelical Churches is demanding official opposition by the Churches to the equipping of W. German forces with nuclear weapons.

This group asks that the present agenda of the Church Synod to be held in East Berlin next month be scrapped and the churchmen concentrate on the nuclear question.

Dr. Niemöller has urged that the Churches must at once proclaim nuclear weapons "a sin in the eyes of God" and withdraw their chaplains from the armed

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Niemoller flying over for Aldermaston

DR. MARTIN NIEMOLLER, who is playing a leading part in the German campaign against nuclear weapons, is flying to England, and will speak at Aldermaston on Easter Monday. Speaking with him will be an American representative of Non-violent Action Against Nuclear Weapons.

On Easter Saturday Dr. Donald Soper will join the march with a contingent from his church.

The following is the route with approximate times:

Good Friday: Meeting Trafalgar Square, 11 a.m.; move off 11.30 via Cockspur Street, Lower Regent Street, Piccadilly, Knightsbridge, for lunch stop at Albert Memorial at 1.15 p.m. Leave Exhibition Road 2.15 p.m., Prince Consort Road, Imperial Institute Road, Kensington High Street, Hammer-smith Road, King Street, Chiswick High Road, Turnham Green (tea stop 4.30-5.30 p.m.) New Bridge Road, High Street, London Road, High Street, Isleworth. Halt at Bell Corner, Hounslow, for night stop, 11½ miles.

Saturday: Leave Bell Corner, Hounslow, at 10 a.m., Bath Road, London Airport, lunch stop by "Peggy Bedford" at junction of A4 and B3378, 12.15 to 1.15. Colnbrook, Slough (tea break and meeting in Salt Hills Recreation Ground, 3.30-4.30 p.m.). Maidenhead, St. Ives Road, York Road, Queen Street. Halt outside station 6.45 p.m. 16½ miles.

Sunday: Leave station 10 a.m. A.4, Knowl Hill (lunch stop 11.45 to 1 p.m.). A.321 Twynford (tea stop 2.45 to 3.45 p.m.). Reading via London Road, Kings Road. Halt St. Mary's Butts 5.30 p.m. 13½ miles.

Monday: Leave St. Mary's Butts 9.50 a.m., Castle Street, Bath Road, A.4, Burghfield (lunch stop 11.50 to 12.50), Burghfield Common, Aldermaston 2.45. Rally commences 3.15.

Cars assemble in Northumberland Avenue, Trafalgar Square. At Aldermaston close on grass verge in Soke Road by timber yard and gravel pits.

A West-of-England convoy will come to Aldermaston on Easter Monday with contingents from Bristol, Bath, Melksham, Trowbridge, Bridgwater, Taunton, Exeter, Yeovil, Shaftesbury, Southampton, Romsey, Ringwood, Poole, Bournemouth, Salisbury, Andover, Alton, Winchester and Newbury, as well as from smaller areas en route. It is organised by Austin Underwood, 4, Earls Road, Amesbury (tel. 3001).

U.S. march

Other marches are being organised at Brayford, Lincs., details from Don Sutherland, Lake Cottage, Bleasby Moor, Market Rasen, and also from Southend (Essex) to a military establishment at Shoeburyness.

In the USA groups will be walking 90 miles from both New Haven and Philadelphia to the United Nations, arriving at Lake Success on Good Friday and spending Easter in poster marches and demonstrations in New York.

GERMANS GIVE WORLD A LEAD



An already surveyed rocket site on the Heuchelberg, a wooded hill near Heilbronn, Germany, has been deserted since February. The first base in the German Federal Republic for American rockets of the Nike type was to have been built here, but when the workmen learnt the purpose of their work they downed their tools in protest. Their action is supported by the people in the neighbourhood. A local shopkeeper had a large number of posters made and set up all around the district, which bear the English text "No Nikes wanted—we want the peace."

Campaign meetings

LOCAL committees and groups of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament are now working in 137 separate towns and cities. Many more are in process of formation.

Public meetings have been arranged in Sevenoaks (today, Friday), Peterborough (April 1), Norwich (April 11), Darlington (April 12), Witney (April 16), Clapham (April 24), Cambridge (April 25), Nottingham (April 26), Ealing (April 30), Hornchurch (April 30), Aberystwyth (May 2), Battersea (May 2), Exeter (May 3), St. Pancras (May 11), Birmingham (May 12), Sheffield (May 16), Manchester (May 21), Watford (May 29), and Tunbridge Wells (June 5).

Plans are also in hand for meetings in Belfast, Braintree, Brentwood, Brighton, Bristol, Buxton, Cardiff, Chesterfield, Colchester, Doncaster, Glasgow, Grays, Greenwich, Guildford, Hemel Hempstead, Huddersfield, Hull, Ilford, Isle of Wight, Leicester, Lincoln, Liverpool, Newcastle, Paignton, Plymouth, Portsmouth, Rotherham, Salisbury, Southampton, Stafford and Yarmouth.

Liberals discuss the Bomb

THE University Union of Liberal Societies Annual Conference which opens to-day will discuss a motion "That this Assembly, believing that a 'deterrent' whose use would defeat the purposes of defence is worse than useless, advocates unilateral nuclear disarmament by Britain as the first constructive step towards ensuring peace."

Meeting occupation

By John Banks, B.A.

The writer, Chairman of the National Committee of the Common Wealth Party, is a lecturer in government and public administration at a regional technical college in the home counties. Major Banks was editor from 1942-44 of the publication "War" at the General Headquarters of the Middle East Forces in Cairo.

NO one can fail to admire the inexorable logic by which Commander King-Hall leads us from his faultlessly argued proof that the H-bomb is not a deterrent, step by step to the conclusion that if Britain is to have a reasonable chance of avoiding nuclear destruction she must disarm completely.

One had been led to believe that King-Hall was playing with the idea of keeping some conventional forces, and that he thought we might defend overseas possessions while disarming at home. But the conventional forces turn out to be token frontier guards and police, while the overseas territories he wishes to protect by force seem to be confined to the Rhodesian Federation and East Africa. Against this lapse of logic should be set some of his conclusions from the study of resistance movements in various lands:

- (a) That the non-violent side of all these struggles invariably presented 'the enemy' with the most difficult and perplexing problems.
- (b) That the effectiveness of the non-violent activities were always reduced by violence.
- (c) That non-violence is much more difficult than violence because it involves a psychological change amongst the resisters towards the enemy. The non-violent resistance ethic can be summed up as defeating the enemy by an internal change on the part of the resister in which 'hatred' of the enemy becomes 'love and compassion.'

King-Hall then engagingly points out that the expression of love and compassion on the part of the occupied population would make the occupation dangerous for the enemy, not in the military sense, but from a political warfare angle! He believes that the Communists might even recoil from occupation if they thought that their soldiers were to be subjected to such treatment.

He rightly points out that practically no study has been made of the most effective way for an occupied population to react to the occupying forces, either in this country or the continent. Gandhi wrote on how Indians should deal with the Japanese in-

vaders, but, as the 1957 Committee has discovered, he was by no means exhaustive on this subject.

King-Hall offers five general rules as a guide for conduct to the individual, very similar to those put forward by Gandhi:

- (1) the economic life of the country to be maintained . . . as far as possible in a normal manner or in accordance with directions issued by the occupying power.
- (2) As regards government the attitude towards the enemy should be 'We have our well-established administrative arrangements, and if you do not like them we await to hear from you what

TWO MORE VIEWS ON COMMANDER SIR STEPHEN KING-HALL'S NEW BOOK "DEFENCE IN THE NUCLEAR AGE" PUBLISHED BY GOLLANCZ AT 18s.

alternative you have in mind.'

- (3) To refuse at all costs to say or write anything contrary to the principles of our way of life or to accept denial of freedom of speech and association.
- (4) To use every opportunity in personal contact with the occupying forces to expose the fallacies of Communism and advantages of democracy.
- (5) In general to behave vis-a-vis the occupying forces with dignity and moral superiority. This is the key rule."

King-Hall has been criticised for wishing to continue the cold war. To him it is a matter of maintaining and extending our democratic way of life in the face of the Communist way as we know it. He also understands that preparation, let alone practice of non-violent resistance would enhance the democratic content of our way of life, by making people aware of the values of democracy.

He does no more than hint at the decentralisation of political and economic power that would be necessary outcomes of such preparations. But we may be sure that some of the more deep-seated opposition to his thesis will come from this very realisation on the part of those who today rule, or hope to rule, our British centralised State.

Rear Admiral Buzzard gives his views on unarmed defence

It should be investigated

ALTHOUGH he still believes that a "reasonably limited" local tactical war is practicable, Rear-Admiral Sir Anthony Buzzard, CB, DSO, OBE, former British Director of Naval Intelligence, supports Sir Stephen King-Hall's demand for an enquiry into non-violent resistance as a means of defence.

As Chairman, he expressed his view that this "terribly important question" should be "thoroughly investigated" at the close of Commander King-Hall's lecture at the Royal United Services Institution. Both the lecture and Sir Anthony's comments have recently been published in the RUSI Quarterly.

Admiral Buzzard made it clear, however, that he did not accept Sir Stephen's premise that a "limited" war must inevitably lead to total nuclear war.

He admitted that if we continued our policy of "over-emphasising" the H-bomb, and accordingly decreasing our preparation for limited wars, then we might ultimately find ourselves in a position where non-violent resistance might be the only right policy.

"That is to say, if we go on offering our public, and the uncommitted countries (which we are also trying to defend) an 'all or nothing' choice of defeat with our small and decreasing conventional weapons, or suicide with the H-bomb, then they may well lean increasingly towards pacifism and non-violent resistance, and in the event of

a threat, may well choose surrender and Communist occupation."

If defeat with conventional weapons and suicide with the H-bomb were the only alternatives then it would "be right to choose surrender and non-violent resistance, for by any ethical legal or even political standards, that [Communist occupation] would be a far lesser evil than total global war with modern weapons."

He believed that the "crucial gap" between conventional war and total nuclear war could be filled, and that it could be done more quickly and effectively than by trying to organise the whole Western world for a policy of non-violent resistance for any Communist aggression with superior conventional forces.

"This, however, does not mean that I think there is no case for non-violent resistance at all," he continued.

Although he thought a "clear distinction between tactical atomic and total war" would provide the best chance of preventing and limiting war, "I still admit that there is always a possibility of such a situation getting out of hand and of it drifting towards total global war."

If so, and negotiations failed, "then I believe that rather than fight total war to a finish and destroy civilisation, it would be better to cease fire and resort to non-violent resistance" for such a war could not be "the lesser of any evils."

"I, therefore," Admiral Buzzard concluded, "support the lecturer's view that this terribly important question should be thoroughly investigated, but I submit it

'WAR IS LUNACY'

But would non-violence

work? — Liddell Hart

MILITARY strategist Capt. B. H. Liddell Hart in Reynolds News (March 9) in a long feature article writes that Commander King-Hall is one of the few people in the campaign against the H-bomb ("it is basically sound common sense") who has something to put in its place.

Sir Stephen's proposal for non-violent resistance as a defence policy is put forward although he considers a Russian "invasion to be unlikely, considering it as contrary to the trend of Soviet policy, he faces the possibility frankly."

Capt. Liddell Hart continues: "It is remarkable and deeply significant that a

lunacy in the H-bomb Age, and any form of defence likely to result in nuclear war is merely extravagance."

After referring to the vast expenditures on military preparations which can only be multiplied by "becoming bankrupt," he said: "The H-bomb is mainly a deterrent to attack of its own kind, and not to all risks of armed conflict."

"But the deterrent to any large-scale conventional invasion is the probability that it would soon bring on nuclear war. . . ."

For H-bomb deterrent purposes "the present scale of the West's H-bomber forces is much in excess of need or sense" and only sufficient H-bombs and means of delivery were necessary for this to "make the Soviet leaders realise that their great cities are as vulnerable as ours."

Neither were vast conventional forces capable of matching the Russians needed; "forces sufficient to quench a frontier outbreak or a relatively small pounce on some outlying position" were all that were needed.

Britain's maintenance of H-bomb forces adds "comparatively little to the deterrent already existing, and it is dubious whether they increase Britain's influence in the alliance or her prestige."

Britain's persistence in maintaining them will lead to other countries developing them also: "Greater then is likely to be the danger of catastrophe."

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Two main doubts

"But the practice of non-violent resistance against a government, by members of a religious or political movement that is cohesive in spirit, is a different matter from its use by a nation in a conflict of States."

"To offer any good chance of success here, it not only requires a higher collective discipline and fortitude than any army has attained, but requires this level to be attained by the nation as a whole."

"The effectiveness of non-violent resistance is undermined if even a small proportion of the community play into the opponent's hand—through weakness, self-interest or pugnacity."

"An examination of the course that King-Hall has espoused leaves two main doubts about its practicability as a national policy."

"The first is whether the nation as a whole, or any likely Government, could be persuaded to embark on such a revolutionary experiment."

"The second is whether the policy could be effectively practised and fulfilled by a nation—since human instincts such as fear, anger, and selfishness could all too easily wreck its prospects."

"These are the underlying difficulties of the non-violent or pacifist solution—but we are still left with the problem—which is vital and urgent."

Turning to discussion of the H-bomb, Capt. Liddell Hart continued: "War is

should not only be investigated on the basis of military, political and economic expediency, but also on the basis of Christian ethics, morality and legality, for they, too, are surely a great part of the way of life which we are at such pains to defend."



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STUDENTS AND THE BOMB University votes against nuclear tests

STUDENTS and faculty at University College, Bangor, Wales, following a debate, overwhelmingly carried a motion by about 300 votes: "That this house favours a cessation of hydrogen and atomic weapon experiments."

The debate with an American team was preceded by a sing-song lead by pacifist and Welsh nationalist Hedley Gibbard. The University weekly paper Forecast ("Ar Dyfodol") reported: "Packed to the doors, with professors perched precariously on window sills, such was the scene in Powis for the debate. . . . Microphones, cables and intelligent-looking BBC men gave to the meeting an important aspect. . . ."

Student paper answers Hailsham

SENNET, the University of London Union newspaper, ran a special H-bomb issue on March 11. The circulation of the issue was about 5,000.

An editorial quoted Lord Hailsham's "are we to suffer . . . Government by undergraduate resolution, agitation by private referendum, trial by by-election" speech and replied:

"This pompous section . . . is sufficient illustration of the mud that some people have attempted to throw at the undergraduate H-bomb polls."

They were only attempting to discover student opinion on "a serious topic . . . which has not previously received the attention it deserves."

Most of the students opposed to the H-bomb were not pacifists. Sennet viewed the polls as "a true reflection of what people are thinking."

The Mansfield (Notts.) Peace Group recently sponsored a film show, including "Walk to Freedom" on the Montgomery Negro bus boycott, in benefit of Christian Action's fund for assistance to victims of the South African "treason" trial.

Love at all costs

IT is not necessary to be a Christian to be aware that next week is Holy Week in which the dramatic events lead up to Good Friday and Good Friday has its culmination in Easter Day.

The contrast in the attitude of the crowds on Palm Sunday and Good Friday should remind us of the fickleness of popular clamour. It is not to that which Christ makes his appeal as he pursues his way regardless of anything but the Truth he has come to proclaim. So the path of non-violence is made straight and the way of Love demonstrated.

That way still remains the hard way from which the majority shrink hoping to find that Love can be vindicated at some lower cost than the readiness to take the final risk and pay the ultimate price.

This Good Friday will witness the beginning of a demonstration which if it is to fulfil the original intention must mark again the way of the Cross and set its demands not by what men may be prepared to accept but by what the Truth requires. That is the message which the Peace Pledge Union still endeavours to give. Not peace at any price but love at all costs. And it does cost a lot, in every way.

Will you please help to bear some of the cost in the least dramatic but still necessary way, and give a really good Easter gift to the Peace Pledge Union's Headquarters Fund?

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

This year we aim at raising £1,200 or £100 a month. So far we have received £172. Please help to make it £300 at least by the end of the month.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

THE ROCKETS HAVE MADE PEOPLE THINK

PHILIP TOYNBEE at Nuclear Disarmament Meeting

MR. PHILIP TOYNBEE, author and Observer critic, speaking to over 600 people at a Nuclear Disarmament meeting in Hornsey (London), warned that there was a danger of those taking part talking to themselves. Audiences at such meetings usually came because they were already sympathetic to the things that were said.

He urged individuals to argue with those who brought up a point against their case.

Among such points was the question: "Why have you suddenly become so excited about this thing?" The questioners pointed out that there was no real difference between rocket bases in this country and bombers carrying hydrogen bombs which had existed in this country for a very long time.

The answer, said Mr. Toynbee, was that there was no difference. "It was extremely stupid of us not to have noticed the way things were going earlier. Rockets got through to our sluggish imaginations. I think the rockets suddenly made us see that for the last ten years we had been gradually going towards an absolutely wicked and insane position."

Mr. Toynbee recalled that Mr. Duncan Sandys, Minister of Defence, had said: "To me it is inconceivable that the free peoples would surrender their liberty without a fight."

Risks either way

Said Mr. Toynbee: "That suggests something plucky and gallant. But what it really means is 24 hours in which rockets are flying from America and Britain to Russia and from Russia to America and Western Europe, and in the course of which heaven knows how many people are killed or left dying in agony."

An old-fashioned vocabulary was being employed and the word "fight" was an example.

There were two opposite views and both had risks attached. One favoured the bomb, believing that the circumstances of "mutual horror" it created would be suffi-

cient to prevent a war which meant total destruction. The other view was that the bomb should be banned, thus risking a world dominated by Russia. "I don't think that would necessarily happen," said Mr. Toynbee, but in his view the possible results of the pro-bomb view were infinitely worse.

No human being could press the button

Canon L. J. Collins, Canon of St. Paul's, said: "I see the beginnings of a tremendous movement in Hornsey which may give a lead to the whole of London."

Although he was a member of the Labour Party he declared: "I am exceedingly keen that this campaign should not get in the clutches of the party political game."

He added that he and other Labour Party members were "ashamed that our Party when in power started this racket off." And it was more shameful that "they still will not come clean on this matter."

Turning to the moral issue, Canon Collins went on: "It is fundamentally impossible for any human being of decency to think of himself pressing a button which releases a weapon, not only to slaughter millions of people, but to make it quite certain that future generations shall have no decent life to live."

'Defence' causes inflation

Mr. George Doughty, general secretary of the Association of Engineering and Shipbuilding Draughtsmen, dealing with the economic aspect of the bomb, said: "Last year Britain spent £1,500 million on defence, just a third of all the money the Government spent on all the services."

"It releases in an overstrained economy a large part of the economic wealth for which there is no visible return. It releases wages for which there is no effective production. Since 1950, £10,200 million has been spent on defence."

"We are told that inflation is caused by wage demands and a high standard of living. Nothing is farther from the truth. The greatest factor is the contribution this country makes to defence."

Other speakers were Mr. Ted Bedford, of the Co-operative Party, and Dr. Alex Comfort, of London University.

Our town and the campaign

By the REV. FRANCIS NOBLE
Vicar of Crofton, Orpington

ABOUT a year ago I received a letter from a person whom I did not know. She was Meg Iredale, who had been on the Black Sash March from Hyde Park to Trafalgar Square, and she returned feeling that something must be done in Orpington about the threat of nuclear war.

She therefore wrote to the local political parties and Christian bodies asking for women representatives to be sent to a delegate meeting. Only six turned up: the women of Orpington felt that they had more important things to discuss than nuclear weapons and the fate of humanity.

Undaunted, the little group co-opted a few men and this unofficial but representative committee organised a highly successful meeting in the town last July, publicised in advance by the distribution of 5,000 leaflets.

Gradually we have gathered momentum and made an increasing impact upon the locality. Speakers have been supplied for a debate on unilateral disarmament and, more recently, there have been a consecutive showing of films on one Saturday, followed ten days later by a large meet-

ing. Both these were advertised by a six hours continuous poster parade in the High Street and by the distribution this time of 9,000 leaflets. Each leaflet contained telling information about hydrogen bombs, and it was significant that very few were thrown away in disgust.

We count it a great achievement that on one of the coldest nights of this winter 250 people turned out to form an enthusiastic audience to listen to a magnificent platform—Bishop Mann, Dr. D. G. Arnott and Stuart Morris. Not only was this meeting prefaced by the fullest general publicity, but I personally wrote to 23 clergy and ministers of the area asking them to commend it. I am bound to say, however, that this supreme social question of the age receives the coolest reception in many of our churches.

Now a group of more than 20 people is conducting a systematic canvass, stirring up interest and seeking signatures for our local petition.

In all these matters the local Press, in contrast with a large section of its national counterpart, has given us full and fair coverage.

Perhaps a lot more people, having read these lines, will write letters to their parsons and local political secretaries determined that people shall awake to their responsibilities

UP AND DOING

The Peace News Tonic

EVER suffer from insomnia? Ever lie awake wondering if and how nuclear catastrophe can be averted?

Or nightmares? Ever dream that it has really happened at last? Britain is a doomed, burning nation: over the radio, above the din, booms a familiar voice re-iterating for the last time the comfortable, futile phrase, "We'll give it 'em back!"?

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MICHAEL RANDLE,
Sales Organiser.

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MP urges leadership from below

"THIS country has approached foreign policy in the wrong way. We have come to regard too many foreign powers as potential enemies." This was the view expressed by Mrs. Joyce Butler, MP for Wood Green (London) recently.

Mrs. Butler was speaking at a public meeting held in protest against development of nuclear weapons at Friends' Hall, Greenleaf Road, Walthamstow.

She continued: "If only one nation, possibly the United Kingdom, took the lead in discussing nuclear warfare and went to an international conference renouncing the hydrogen bomb and all associated with it, and made positive suggestions as to how countries can get together for the planning and development of the world; if one nation went to such a conference prepared to make sacrifices for this end without seeking her own advantage, then the entire world situation might be transformed. If such a policy failed, nothing would have been lost. We should just have to try another method."

"There will always be danger while this horrible weapon remains in existence. But in an issue like this it is the people who should lead the government. The Government depends upon public opinion. People tend to look about for leadership in a campaign like this."

"Leadership, however, should come from below, each one of us should do our part to rid the world of this menace. The world was never intended to be the fear-ridden nightmare it is today."

Principal physicist of University College Hospital, Mr. Sidney B. Osborne, explained the technical side of nuclear weapons.

Scientists have proved that for every person killed outright by a hydrogen bomb attack, one will die many hundreds of years hence as a result of genetic effect. It has also been proved that 20,000 people will die from bone cancer as a result of every bomb that is exploded.

"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another"

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to PPU Headquarters
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6, Endsleigh Street London, W.C.1

Prisoners in Spandau

FRAU HENRIETTA VON SCHIRACH has been told by the British Foreign Office that any decision about her former husband, still held as a war criminal in Spandau was a matter for the Four Powers who jointly control his imprisonment.

Frau von Schirach was clearly aware of this and had no need to come to England to learn it. Indeed, she had paid the British the very considerable compliment of having the view that they would be most likely to take an initiative in the matter with the other participants in the four Power control: France, Russia and the US.

A Foreign Office spokesman told the Press that it was contrary to the British constitutional position to discuss considerations of clemency with anyone. This may mean nothing more than that the Foreign Office is not prepared to give any undertaking to raise this matter until the ground has been explored in order to avoid the possible necessity of announcing a rebuff. Quite clearly if the question of clemency is to be considered at all there will have to be discussions between the Four Powers, and there is nothing contrary to the British constitutional position in this.

The three prisoners in Spandau, Baldur von Schirach, Albert Speer and Rudolf Hess have been there for ten and a half years. They were guilty of great crimes, but they were imprisoned because they suffered defeat. It is conceivable that "Bomber" Harris or Mr. Truman might have been punished as war criminals had they not been on the victorious side.

The prison conditions of these men are considerably worse than those of the long-term sentence criminals in a British prison; indeed, in many respects they are worse than the harsher conditions applied to criminals with short-term sentences.

There are four prison governors in control—one representing each of the controlling Powers. These have the supervision of something like 100 people who are engaged in keeping these three men in prison. The cost is something over £20,000 per year per prisoner. It is a lot of money to pay for the satisfaction of a rather ugly desire for vengeance, for set free there would be no possibility of these men repeating their former crimes. There will be other criminals should there be another world war, but it is unlikely that they will be brought before a court and sentenced.

Civil war

IT is no longer possible to speak of the trouble in Indonesia, as President Sukarno would like the world to do, as a minor rebellion by a few discontents. It is a full-fledged civil war, with unpleasant implications on the East v. West alignment.

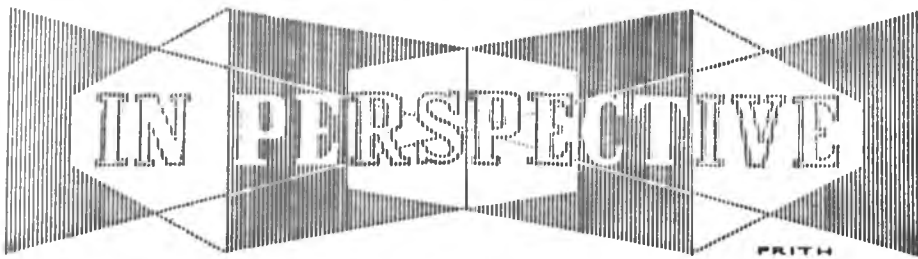
American-made weapons are reported to have been found in the rebels' possession—it must be stated however that the rebels claim to have captured these from Government troops—and arms in use by the Government forces are reported to have come from Formosa.

At least one important rebel officer, Major Nangolan, is said to be American-trained, whilst the ships with which the Sukarno Government is beginning to replace the former KPM Dutch fleet for inter-island communication are Russian-supplied, to be paid out of the \$100,000,000 loan granted by the Soviets. And on March 13 Mr. Foster Dulles told his Press conference in answer to a question that the State Department's legal advisers were examining the question of granting belligerent rights to the Sumatran rebels.

Reply to Dulles

THESE things, though far from amounting to direct military involvement, show the opposite directions of the flow of sympathies and of probable future requests for direct or indirect aid. They also expose the nasty core of the situation.

Fortunately, the important Christian Science Monitor shows more wisdom than the ever incautious Mr. Dulles. In an editorial on the Indonesian conflict on March 19, it wrote: "... whatever the ultimate solution, it must be one that is



brought about by Indonesians themselves. Nothing could be more tragic for Indonesia and for the world than the eruption of another Korea or Indo-China in that vast archipelago."

At Jakarta, Mr. Dulles' rash remark provoked the following statement by Prime Minister Dr. Djuanda: "We must stress

the Government will not allow the present Indonesian internal conflict to be converted into a struggle for power between the Communists and the anti-Communist group ... if the rebellion is given belligerent rights by one party it would follow that the other party would have every reason to recognise other rebellions, for instance in the case

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THE UPHOLDING OF RIGHT

PEACE NEWS IS PUBLISHING, and will continue to publish a considerable number of contributions relating to Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall's book because we believe it to be of outstanding importance.

There is much incidental material contained in it—useful, but not essential to the development of his main theme—some of which we find interesting and informative, and with some of which we disagree.

What pacifists will look for most eagerly in the book is a discussion on the techniques for the development of methods of non-violent defence, and here it should be said that they will find only the merest outline sketch, contained in the two concluding chapters, which is, however, well worth while and provides a framework in which we hope—as does the author—a lot more thinking will be done.

Sir Stephen's examination of the basis of British defence policy, written before the issue of the recent Defence White Paper, which gives it added cogency, is masterly.

It is, however, upon his views of the conduct of political warfare, which occupies a very considerable part of the book, that we wish to comment here. Sir Stephen has sought in this book to take with him through what he calls the "thought barrier" those who are accustomed to thinking within a military framework.

For this purpose he elaborates at the outset a statement of the issues in the major conflict that dominates the world very much in military terms. By this means he contrives a kind of projectile which may be of assistance in carrying through the thought barrier the type of mind he is addressing.

He has our good wishes in this enterprise. Nevertheless, we do not feel that he has been able to do this without falsifying the issues in certain important aspects.

★ ★
ALTHOUGH THE CARRYING OUT of his plan would involve the bringing to an end of the military organisation of the Western power bloc he seems to write on the unstated assumption that it would still be there as a bloc in the ideological sense. This leads to a frequent inversion of his values.

The democratic nations, he says, "have hardly begun to understand that if they are menaced by a monolithic Communist doctrine, the democracies must be prepared to operate as a democratic unit and apply democratic principles and practices to their own international arrangements. This means a progressive abandonment of sovereignty and its absorption into a higher loyalty."

The purpose of this approach toward a monolithic unity by the West is to be a more effective preparation for the waging of an ideological war. Despite Sir Stephen's repetition of the word "democratic" this sounds very much like a Western "Comintern".

We are very much in agreement with his view that a great deal of the money that is now spent on preparing the means of destruction could be much better devoted to the exposition of liberal political and social values, and that an outcome of this that might be hoped for would be a better understanding by the Eastern European peoples living under totalitarian governments, and particularly the Russians, of the oppression under which they live and of the fact that there is no compelling necessity that this should be so.

But activities of this kind cannot decently be levelled at the peoples of a selected group of nations. They require to be universal.

If the Western bloc peoples are organised on the basis of preparation for military conflict they can evidently feel that a Government such as that of Portugal may be included among them, and they may even come to accept the inclusion of Spain.

★ ★
SHOULD THE IDEA of military preparedness be abandoned, however, and give place to the advocacy of a way of life, the indecency of including a regime as disreputable as that of Portugal among the champions of a "free world" becomes evident.

In such circumstances, not only Portugal but South Africa and a number of other countries that have been accorded a nominal title to be included in the "free world" will have ceased to be present or prospective allies and will have become, equally with the Eastern European countries and China, objectives to which the newer form of political struggle will be levelled.

To be fair it must be remarked that in a sense Sir Stephen appreciates this, but the form in which his book is cast leads him to seem to imply that, for instance, the oppression exercised over the great mass of the people in South Africa should be brought to an end as a means of strengthening the propaganda instrument of the Western bloc. There is not only a great air of unreality about such a view, but it is an actual inversion of what should be the position.

Part of the great moral strength of a nation that abandons all arms will be that it will have become free to be outspoken about oppression exercised by those about whom it was formerly constrained to be silent because they were necessary military allies or associates.

of the rebellion in Malaya, the Philippines and Burma."

Degrees of evil?

IN a very considerable correspondence on the H-bomb in The Times, Canon Collins wrote: "Nuclear weapons are totally evil: to contemplate their use, even in defence of the highest values, is wicked."

This evoked letters on March 20 from Lord Halifax, Mr. Henry Osborne, MP, and Mr. Angus Maude, MP.

Each makes the same point: Is then a high-explosive "block-buster" only partially evil? And in what does the different degree of evil consist? Or, as Mr. Osborne puts it: "Why are nuclear weapons more evil than conventional blockbusters. Certainly they are more awful. Surely all indiscriminate killing of women and children by remote control is evil?"

It is argued not that because block-busters are evil as well as the H-bomb both should be renounced, but that because we have not been wrong in resorting to the evil of block-busters, therefore we shall not be wrong in making use of H-bombs.

It is an advantage to have so many people stating a part of the pacifist case, even if they state it in reverse. We shall see a lot more of this.

Some who read Mr. Maude's letter, however, who are not bound by the constraints of the policy to which he is committed will be set thinking by his point, and will conclude—not that the earlier acceptance of a smaller evil justifies the present acceptance of the greater evil but the monstrous evil of the greater points to the fact that the lesser must be renounced also.

This is the logic of the matter—both morally and realistically. The gentlemen who have been aroused by Canon Collins should observe that in calling for the renunciation of the H-bomb the Canon does so as an avowed pacifist. He is, however, a pacifist of relatively recent date: after the use and manufacture of nuclear weapons.

It is highly likely that he has been brought to the pacifist view by his realisation of the enormity of the use of the H-bomb. There are not a few people who have been brought to a realisation of the necessity for the renunciation of war by similar means.

There is nothing extraordinary about this. The working of the human mind in this way is a commonplace. A child dying of starvation in Delhi is no less tragic than a child dying of starvation in Camberwell. Our response to the situation of the child whose plight may become apparent before our eyes, however, is much more immediate than it is to the knowledge that a great proportion of the children of the world are undernourished.

Our reaction in the case that has struck us forcibly may nevertheless quite possibly lead to the consideration of the existence of starving children in general.

Keeping us in the dark

AN article in the H-bomb issue of *Isis*, the Oxford University magazine, has led to the questioning of students by detectives acting on behalf of MI5.

The Attorney-General has authorised a prosecution under the Official Secrets Act.

Raising the matter in the Commons, Mr. Allau pointed out that the article told among other things of Western aircraft deliberately sent beyond their frontier in order to set the Russians reacting and thus enable information about their defence measures to be picked up.

It would be interesting to know to what extent, and how, these activities feature in the Russian press. There is no doubt that the US and British Press would pay considerable attention to anything like them operated in reverse. In this kind of activity, and in such things as the article by Captain Goodspeed of NATO, in the NATO-sponsored review we referred to recently, there is plenty of material with which the Russian press might work on the fears of the Russian people.

LETTERS

Idiots, criminals, traitors!

YOUR correspondent Mr. William Courtenay, OBE, MM (PN, March 21) is so right: pacifism is a doctrine that should be peddled in Russia.

After all, everyone knows that Western civilisation is basically decent, despite such trivialities as Dresden, Hiroshima, South Africa, Spain, Kenya, Port Said, Cyprus, Little Rock, Sakiet and perhaps even one or two others.

The Russians, on the other hand, are not only Godless—Gad, Sir! they're atheistic and opponents of religion. Anyone who reads an ordinary unbiased daily newspaper knows that Russians are incapable of taking any moral action. It is therefore logical and reasonable to expect the Russians to disarm first.

When Russia has destroyed her nuclear stocks, disbanded her forces and secret police, recognised State Department agents as official observers, liberated Hungary from the tyranny we (almost) fought against and perhaps taught the US how to launch missiles at the first attempt, then, and only then, will it be time for the West to begin to consider pacifism—cautiously, of course.

As it happens, some Western pacifists are shortly going to Russia to urge direct action against insane governments. Despite the fact that their strongest argument will be that they have practised what they preach, they will need all our support. How much are you prepared to put up for this project that is so dear to your heart, Mr. Courtenay? **CHRISTOPHER FARLEY, Down Hall, Bradwell-juxta-Mare, Essex.**

Work camps

SINCE the Brighton exhibition and meeting about international work camps on the theme of constructive peace-making it seems likely that soon it will be possible to organise week-end work camps and maybe even longer projects in this area.

The Council of Social Service and the Youth Office in Brighton have shown interest in these schemes. The tasks to be undertaken have not yet been decided but, I imagine, will be cleaning and decoration of old people's houses, help for Children's Homes, Youth Clubs, Educational and Community Centres.

I should be glad to hear from anyone in South Sussex not already in touch with International Voluntary Service, who would be willing to do manual work of this type occasionally as an act of social service and an affirmation of human brotherhood either locally or abroad.—**FRANCIS TONKS, 12 Buckhurst Road, Telscombe Cliffs, Newhaven, Sussex.**

Non-violent living

MAY I express my disappointment on two points in Wilfred Wellock's review of "The Political Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi" by Gopinath Dhawan in PN, March 14?

Firstly, Mr. Wellock's interpretation of Gandhi's reluctance to write a book on his philosophy is completely new. Gandhi's own statements seem to mean that he declined because his insight was always growing and he did not regard himself as the person to write a systematic treatise.

The point is not that "he hadn't a philosophy" but that his insights into his basic philosophy truth, *ahimsa* and equality, were constantly expanding.

Secondly, it is regrettable that the reviewer devotes only one sentence to the book itself. Although it has weaknesses, this volume is one of the five "must" books on Gandhi, and readers might have hoped

for more information on its contents.—**GENE SHARP, Fulham Road, Kensington, London, S.W.10.**

Canon Roberts

CANON F. K. ROBERTS, M.A., whose death was announced in Peace News recently, gave support to the pacifist cause early in the "20's," when he campaigned under the banner of the No More War Movement.

In 1936 there came the urge in Smethwick for greater Christian pacifist activity, and Father Roberts (as he was addressed by his parishioners), in conjunction with several Free Church ministers, helped in the formation of the Smethwick Christian Pacifist Group, which later became affiliated to the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Those were days, as I well remember,

of great leadership and tremendous activity.

During the war years Father Roberts rose to the challenge with tremendous courage and drove himself hard. While still maintaining his pacifist standpoint, he identified himself with the trials and sufferings of those around him. Visiting the shelters, cycling through the blitz to comfort the sick and injured, and later welcoming German prisoners of war into his home, all this work endeared him to many hundreds of lay folk.

Moving to Rubery in 1946, Canon Roberts did his utmost there to foster interest in the pacifist cause. Even when severe illness caused his retirement he still maintained his faith and interest in Christian pacifism.

During his ministry, Canon Roberts did his utmost to arouse the conscience of

Christians within the Church of England. A member since its earliest days of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, he was chairman of the Birmingham branch for many years.

In all his work for the pacifist cause he received the support of his wife and family, themselves convinced pacifists.

While Father Roberts' work was principally in Christian pacifist bodies, Peace News nevertheless could always be found in his home, and he greatly valued the wonderful service which it has rendered (and renders increasingly) to the whole of the pacifist movement.

The Smethwick branch of the Fellowship of Reconciliation is still very much alive, and numbers in its ranks some of Canon Roberts' friends who were with him almost from the commencement of the group.—**GEORGE ROLLINGS, Secretary, Smethwick Branch, Fellowship of Reconciliation.**

REIGN OF TERROR IN SOUTH AFRICA

By Fenner Brockway, MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom

The demonstrations will certainly not be allowed in the African reserves. Dr. Verwoerd, the Minister of Native Affairs, has just announced that he is taking powers to ban the Congress in these rural areas.

It is one of the contradictions of the position in South Africa, however, that the whites cannot afford to restrict the African population to the Reserves. They are needed as cheap manual labour in the gold, diamond and uranium mines. It is in the towns that the Africans, often with the support of Indians and Coloureds, are able to demonstrate their unity and strength.

The decision to ban the African Congress outside the towns has arisen from the extraordinary resistance of African women to the decree requiring them, as well as the men, to carry passes. Over the years the men have accepted the pass system.

Now the order has gone forth that the women must carry passes as well. Not they! They burned them: defied their chief when he ordered them to obey.

Result: disturbances in the Zeerut reserve, and newspaper reporters—even white reporters—banned from the area under the threat of a £300 fine or three years' imprisonment.

But not Father Hooper. Priests (and one pays tribute to them) are still allowed freedom of movement. He has told Barbara Castle, MP, who recently visited Zeerut, that four people were killed and several wounded in shooting at Gopane. The Africans were said to have assaulted the armed guard, but none of them fell nearer than 75 yards of the police.

The women resist

Three to five thousand refugees have crossed into Bechuanaland, where they are being well cared for (the British Protectorates may become sanctuaries as the conflict extends in South Africa). People are being fined and their cattle seized. Famine threatens. The authorities are not allowing the refugees to return: penalty, again, £300 or three years. Husbands who have gone to the towns are not allowed to rejoin their wives and families under the same threat. A reign of terror.

Nevertheless, the women persist. Writes Father Hooper: "They say, 'The elephant is now stamping us into the ground.' And then they get up and defy the elephant all over again. In the end the elephant will have to depart or tire, and then we may expect all hell to break loose. Guns just can't subdue the spirit: or not for long."

The South African Government is convinced that the African National Congress is organising the women's resistance, though it doesn't appear to need organisation: it is spontaneous. So Congress is to be proscribed in the reserves. The Government's action will make Congress only more popular than ever.

Another effect the Government's action will have. So far the leadership of Congress, in the eyes of anyone outside South Africa, will have appeared restrained. It has been based on the Gandhi pattern of non-violent resistance.

The refusal to obey the colour bar laws in 1952 was specifically planned on the Indian model: Africans left their reserves without passes, they used railway coaches reserved for whites only, they sat on seats in the public parks inscribed "For Europeans Only." The bus boycott last year was an impressive and successful application of the same non-violent technique. When fares were raised beyond their reach they made the journey to and from work by foot for weeks: some walked 20 miles a day. In the end public funds met the increase. A great victory for Congress.

The leaders, Chief A. J. Lutuli and Professor Z. Matthews, have always insisted that Congress must observe non-violence and that its aims should be not domination of South Africa, but partnership with the whites.

They have had to face criticism from an impatient group within the membership known as the "Africanists," who reject any idea of partnership and do not rule out violence. The effect of the Government's proscription of Congress will inevitably lead to the strengthening of this group. Nationalist suppression can serve only to incite revolt.

Britain could help

Another feature of the African struggle as the general election proceeds is emphasis on economic demands. A Workers' Conference has just been held in a native township of Johannesburg and has called for a minimum wage of £1 a day. African Unions are not permitted to use the machinery of negotiation available to Unions of white workers. Strikes are illegal. South Africa is beginning to see a combination of political and economic demands by the African people and this fusion may lead to the linking of direct action in resisting colour bar laws and in refusing to work under intolerable conditions.

The Africans, the Indians and the Coloureds, within South Africa must bear the main brunt of this struggle, but it is a first duty of all of us who believe in racial equality, wherever we may be, to help them.

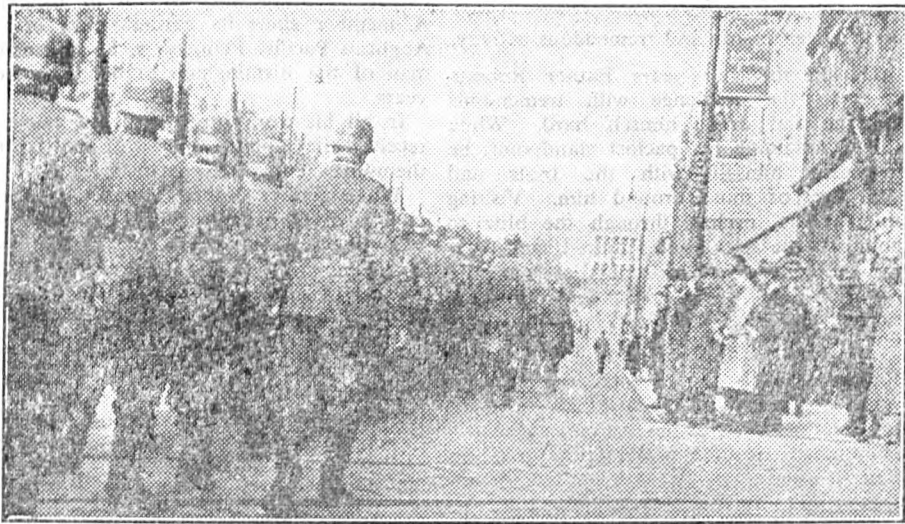
The United Nations should become the stage for this international struggle. So far whenever India has raised the issue, the British delegation has either voted with South Africa or abstained. I think it likely that the Labour Party in Britain will shortly announce a reversal of this policy by any future Labour Government. Britain can also directly influence events in South Africa by making its three Protectorates models of equality and African progress.

All of us should assist the funds which are being raised for the defence of the prisoners in the Treason Trial. The British Trades Unions and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions should join the campaign of the African workers. All Asian nations should support the courageous lead which India has given. Throughout the continent of Africa the peoples, and particularly the Governments of the independent territories, should demonstrate their support.

In the long run a combination of resistance within South Africa and of solidarity outside South Africa will win.

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Kirkenes Journey 9 FEARS OF

By Gene Sharp ANOTHER OCCUPATION

NEW READERS BEGIN HERE: In 1942, by defying and non-co-operating with Quisling's Nazification efforts in the schools, Norway's teachers thwarted these measures and blocked the pilot project in Quisling's plan for instituting the Corporate State in Norway. Now, sixteen years later, Mr. Holmboe (one of the leaders in the 1942 teachers' resistance) believes that Norway's present defence policy is "futile" and a "non-violent defence academy" should be established.

"THAT WAS THE GESTAPO headquarters during the war," said a friend in Oslo, pointing to a large building. "Many Norwegians were tortured there."

Here was the clue of the answer to the question I had been asking: Why with Norway's experience with non-violent resistance is the country relying still on

The story of the Norwegian teachers' successful non-violent resistance under Nazi occupation

military power and the NATO alliance?

The occupation made a deep impression on the Norwegian people.

True, the Norwegians were regarded by the Nazis as Aryans and hence potential supporters of the Third Reich. Hence, their treatment early in the occupation was relatively better than that of the Jews and other *Untermensch* ("sub-humans") in the occupied territories on the Eastern Front who were regarded as fit only for extermination.

But despite this relatively better treatment, the occupation was very harsh.

People were hungry. Freedom was suppressed. The secret police created terror. Many people were arrested, jailed, tortured, sent to concentration camps, deported and shot. The people have not forgotten this, al-

though the memory does not necessarily mean hatred of the Germans or even of the collaborators.

Destruction of a dream

After foreign rule by the Danes from 1387 to 1814, Norwegians love both freedom and peace. The Nazi invasion and occupation took away both. Also it destroyed the illusion that peace necessarily comes to those who simply wish for it hard enough.

Norwegians remember almost bitterly the absence of sufficient military strength to repel the Nazi invasion. Many believe that with stronger military preparations, the invasion and occupation would not have come.

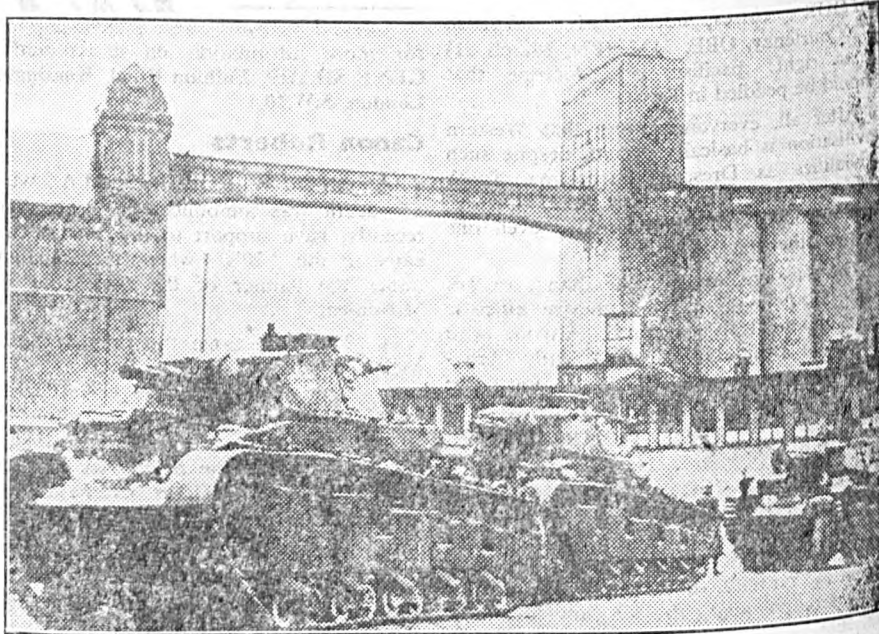
This seems to be largely an emotional reaction and it is not fully realised that a small nation of three and a half million people—about a quarter of the population of Greater London—no matter how great its effort could not by military means have either "deterred" an attack or defeated the overwhelming military might of a determined Nazi regime.

Norway is in NATO today because the people generally fear another war, especially the prospect of a Russian occupation, and believe that the alliance with militarily stronger countries will prevent attack and keep the enemy out in the first place.

Deportations

The recent fate of Hungary, and the earlier deportations and ruthlessness in Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania have made a great impression in all Scandinavia and have convinced the Norwegians that a Russian occupation would be much worse than was the German. Occupation, they fear, might mean large-scale deportations.

The freedom-loving Norwegian people do not want to relinquish their freedom



Above: German tanks entering Oslo from the harbour during the invasion in April 1940.
Left: German troops entering Oslo in April 1940.

without a struggle, even in the face of also be increased. The very means of over-whelming odds. warding off the feared occupation might thus bring it about.

But by preparing for military defence, they have become caught up in a sequence of events which might involve Norway in a world nuclear war bringing death to people whose freedom such means were supposed to protect.

Norway with NATO ties, a NATO headquarters, NATO financed technical bases and airfields (though controlled by Norwegians) would be more subject to attack than a neutral Norway should war break out. The chances of occupation might

Unarmed defence

A partial recognition of this may lie behind Norway's refusal to have large-scale foreign NATO troops in the country, and the necessity of obtaining the approval of the Storting (parliament) before nuclear weapons can be stored in the country or accepted for Norway's armed forces.

The present policy is accepted as the best

ON PAGE SEVEN

THE MONTGOMERY STORY

The Negroes of the city of Montgomery, Alabama, have won their non-violent struggle against segregation on the buses. Now their leader, Negro minister Martin Luther King, tells them more about non-violence.

"THE BRITISH PUT A TAX ON SALT, AND SAID INDIANS COULD NOT MAKE THEIR OWN SALT. GANDHI WALKED WITH HIS FOLLOWERS 200 MILES TO THE SEA TO BREAK THE LAW BY GATHERING SALT. SOON THE JAILS WERE OVERFLOWING WITH INDIANS--AND THE BRITISH DID AWAY WITH THE SALT ACT."

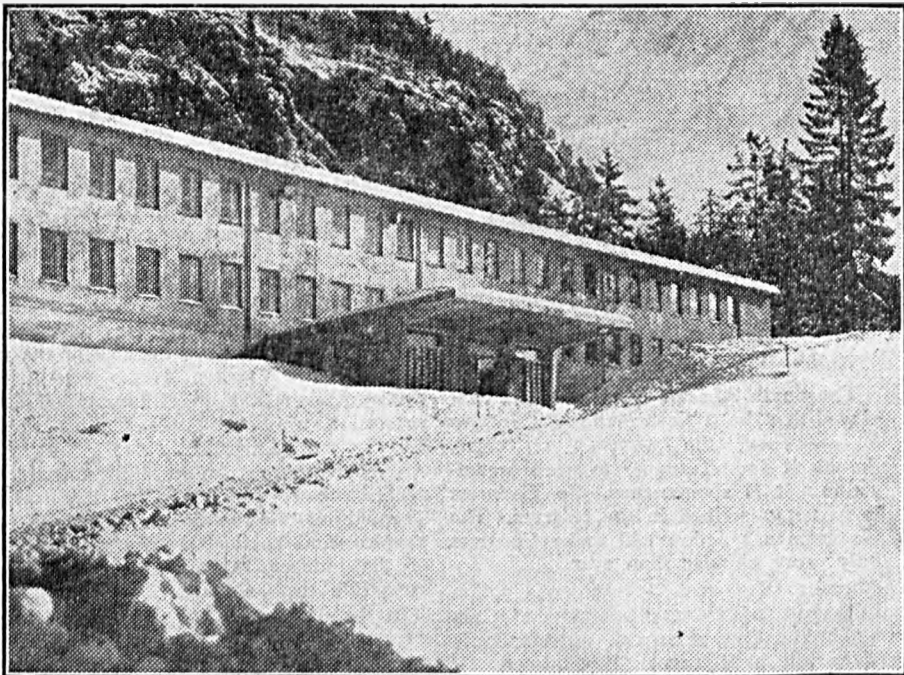
"BESIDES, THE NEWS THAT BRITISH SOLDIERS WERE SHOOTING UNARMED MEN AND WOMEN AND PUTTING LEADERS IN JAIL, WAS TROUBLING THE BRITISH AT HOME."

"THE VOTERS IN MY DISTRICT DON'T LIKE WHAT WE'RE DOING IN INDIA. WE'LL HAVE TO GET OUT. THAT'S CLEAR."

"IT WASN'T EASY. IT TOOK YEARS OF NONVIOLENT STRUGGLE, MANY LONG HOURS OF PRAYER AND SUFFERING. THE INDIANS WERE SHOT AND BEATEN, BUT NEVER LICKED. THEY WON THEIR FREEDOM--AND SOMETHING ELSE, TOO. THEY WON THE FRIENDSHIP AND RESPECT OF THE BRITISH. THIS IS THE UNUSUAL THING ABOUT NONVIOLENCE--NOBODY IS DEFEATED; EVERYBODY SHARES IN THE VICTORY."

"IT BECAME HARDER AND HARDER FOR THE BRITISH TO KEEP CONTROL. THEIR JAILS WERE FILLED WITH INDIA'S BEST-LOVED LEADERS, INCLUDING SUCH MEN AS NEHRU, WHO LATER BECAME PRIME MINISTER."

"...FINALLY THE BRITISH GAVE IN AND GRANTED INDIA'S INDEPENDENCE. GANDHI HAD MADE A REVOLUTION WITHOUT FIRING A SHOT."



NATO's Norwegian Headquarters at Kolsås.

Prepared by the Al Capp Organisation for the US Fellowship of Reconciliation. The complete story in booklet form, is being distributed at 10 cents each in the USA: Box 271, Nyack, N.Y.

GERMAN STRIKE?

★ FROM
PAGE ONE

forces if they are accepted.

Forty-four distinguished German scientists have also appealed to the W. German trade unions and asked them to support scientists in their fight against the supplying of nuclear weapons to Germany.

Their appeal reads:

"Nuclear weapons on our territory will increase the dangerous tension, destroy any hope of reunification, and, in case of war, will mean the final and inevitable destruction of Germany.

"The grave warnings and entreaties uttered by the best-informed scientists, who are truly in a position to assess the dangers, have incomprehensibly been brushed aside by responsible politicians. "We therefore appeal to the whole German nation not to ignore the urgent warnings of scientists.

"In particular we appeal to the trade unions as the biggest organisation of work-

Huddleston

□ FROM
PAGE ONE

called the 'native problem,' declared Father Huddleston.

Fear promoted tensions between people, where in fact no fear need exist. It was because the hydrogen bomb deterrent was basically a policy of fear that he felt it must be avoided and opposed by Christians who could never accept fear as ground for action.

Those who were in favour of maintaining the hydrogen bomb assumed that future war was possible with a total destruction of all material and spiritual things which shaped the very values upon which civilisation was based.

"In other words the arguments against nuclear disarmament it seems to me are arguments based on the idea that we are living still in the same kind of world in which we lived before the hydrogen bomb came into existence".

At the same time as they were waging a campaign against the hydrogen bomb, they had to look for the fundamental cause of war. In the first place, they talked increasingly about the value of the Commonwealth. But how was it possible to allow conditions in which the standard of living for the Indian was £20 per head per year—compared with the Western European standard of £200.

If they were being forced into concentrating their economic forces on the production of weapons for destruction how could they hope to redress this fantastic balance.

The conflict today was not so much a conflict between East and West as a conflict between faith and fear.

"I believe that in the West there is a lack of real faith in the values which we profess to love and hold dear. We are fearful of Communism because very largely we are not sure of our own values, because we are not sure enough of what we ourselves intend to preserve and propagate."

But it was possible to create sufficient faith in the things in which we believe so that we might proclaim to the world an act of faith in renouncing for ever the hydrogen bomb—because it was evil in itself and not because we were afraid.

Water radioactive

It should be done quite simply because then they could affirm to the world—in which they claimed to represent Christian Western civilisation—one simple and basic truth that "what is morally wrong can never be politically right."

Urging that this country should get rid of nuclear weapons, Mr. J. B. Priestley said: "It is not true to say that the nuclear weapons are the consequence of our international relations—international relations are the consequence of these weapons. These things are evil—our manufacture of them, our possession of them and threats to use them degrade us."

The third speaker, Mr. A. J. P. Taylor, historian and Oxford don, said that he had been told that in many towns the water supply was being monitored for radioactivity and that the figures could not be published because already radioactivity was approaching the danger level.

They could always find scientists to say we were nowhere near the danger level, but at any rate the risk was increasing all the time.

ing men and women. The trade unions are politically uncommitted. As an organisation of free citizens they do, however, reserve the right to speak in matters of vital concern to the nation. We believe that this right has now become a duty.

"It is no longer a question of merely negotiating for wages. What is the use of higher wages and a better standard of living if the necessary peaceful conditions cannot be politically ensured?

"The continuation and increasing rate of the armaments race inevitably undermines the foundations of all social and economic progress. Today the most important problem is to prevent Central Europe getting tied by the deathly chains of nuclear politics.

Peace must come first

"This flash-point of international tension must be kept free of nuclear weapons in the interests of both parts of our divided country as well as of all European nations. The establishment of an atom-free zone would be an important first step towards a common, free and peaceful future for all Germans."

The appeal closed by urging trade unions "not to desert the scientists in face of terrible danger."

It called upon them, irrespective of differing opinions on social and economic questions, "to stand shoulder to shoulder with them in this grave hour in just and public witness."

Although no official reply has yet been given to the scientists' appeal by the Executive of the Trade Union Congress, it is understood that at a recent meeting the Executive welcomed the appeal.

Generally speaking, the unions seem to be in full agreement with the scientists, though there is considerable controversy within the Executive regarding the suggestion of large-scale strikes.

However, the unions themselves are discussing with increasing eagerness the right to take emergency measures where national life and security are concerned.

It has already been announced that the May Day demonstrations will be largely devoted to opposition to nuclear armaments.

Trade Unions responding

In response to the appeal, the West German Transport and Public Services Union at a district conference in Essen passed a resolution urging the TUC Executive to initiate all possible measures, including strikes, against nuclear armaments for Germany.

Speaking of the token strike of municipal transport workers on March 19, the Transport Union chairman, Adolf Kummernuss, said at a meeting in Stuttgart it was really more important to organise strikes over such political issues than over wages.

At a meeting of the Metal Workers' Union in Dusseldorf on March 5, 503 delegates demanded that their local organisation should make plans for a mass meeting to be addressed by one of the scientists who signed the appeal.

They also asked their Executive to tell the scientists that the workers stood firmly behind them.

Delegates of the Chemical, Paper and Ceramics Union in Hamburg were addressed by a Social Democratic member of the Bundestag, who said the offer of the scientists to enter into an alliance with the workers should be accepted.

The 300 delegates unanimously carried a resolution urging the Executive of the TUC, as well as the international TU organisation, to conduct the fight for an atom-free Central European zone with every means at their disposal.

The annual general meeting of the Trade Union, "Trade, Banks and Insurances," unanimously adopted a resolution in support of the "Action Against Nuclear Death."

The resolution was moved by delegates from Nürnberg who declared: "Our conscience no longer permits us to keep silent."

A further important element in the German movement against nuclear armament is the "Committee for the Fight Against Atomic Death," formed by 41 prominent personalities in science, religion, politics, law, education and the arts.

Their appeal is addressed to the German

By Sybil Morrison

The miracle of peace

A friend has been sending me Peace News during the last few weeks, and I understand, from reading your articles, the you and your fellow pacifists would propose to leave this country unarmed, thereby inviting attack and invasion, and possibly involving the whole world in a third world war. I am against war as much as you are, but if it is to be prevented then the "great deterrent" is obviously a better chance than total disarmament.

—Anonymous letter, March 21, 1958.

THE question in the letter from which I have taken an extract is one that has been frequently answered in this column, and also in leaflets and pamphlets published by pacifist organisations. Yet it persists.

This is, perhaps, not altogether surprising when it is remembered how seldom the answers receive any wide publicity, and how powerful is the indoctrination by Press, Broadcasting and Television.

So strong is this indoctrination that many pacifists are caught in the trap, and themselves automatically pre-suppose that total disarmament is an invitation to invasion and attack.

Commander Stephen King-Hall bases a large part of his argument in "Defence in the Nuclear Age" on this assumption, thereby dismissing any other possibility resulting from a decision to abandon all armaments.

This conception of the immediate consequences of total disarmament entirely leaves out of account the revolution that would have taken place in a country that had decided on grounds of principle and moral conviction, as well as upon rational conclusions, to abandon the method of war.

★

Such a decision would be as world-shaking as the most powerful nuclear weapon ever invented. The whole motive and foundation of foreign policy, so precariously balanced at the moment upon parity of nuclear power, would be completely altered.

The threat to peace which results from the possession of this monstrous power to blow the whole world to bits, would be dispelled; the tension deliberately kept taut by the manoeuvring of the Great Powers would be relaxed; the excuse for attack would, in fact, be removed.

The oppressive and sinister régime of the Soviet Union should under no circumstances be under-estimated, nor condoned, but neither should it be overlooked that the Kremlin have every reason to believe the nuclear arms stockpiling of the Western Powers to be a threat to Russia and to no other nation.

The entirely different approach to world problems inherent in the decision to abandon armaments, would affect the policies of all other nations, and indeed the very fact that one nation had taken such a

people, but at the same time they are urging the Bundestag and the Federal Government "not to participate in the atomic arms trade, but to support all efforts for an atom-free zone in Europe."

Among those who signed this appeal were:

Dr. Amelunxen, Minister of Justice of N. Rhine-Westphalia; Max Brauer, Mayor of Hamburg; Prof. Max Born, Nobel Prize-winner for physics; Paul Loebe, last President of the Reichstag; Herr Ollenhauer, Chairman of the Social Democratic Party; Herr Richter, Chairman of the German Trade Union Congress;

Dr. Niemöller; Herr Steinhoff, Prime Minister of N. Rhine-Westphalia; Herr Tacke and Herr Reuter, Vice-chairman TUC;

Prof. Carlo Schmid, Vice-president of the Bundestag; Dr. Elisabeth Lueders, Dr. Degler and Dr. Heinemann, members of the Bundestag; Herr Hans Jahn, President of the Free Academy of Arts; Alfred Weber, Professor of Sociology at Heidelberg University; Prof. Hagemann, Principal of the Institute of Publicity at Münster University;

Dr. Stempel, Church president; theologians Prof. I. Iwand and Prof. D. Gollwitzer; Dr. Kloppenburg, Church Councillor; Prof. Weitzel, physicist of Bonn; Prof. D. Wolf, of Göttingen; and authors Stefan Andres, Heinrich Böll, Walter Dirks, Axel Eggebrecht, Erich Kästner, Eugen Kogon, Ernst Kreuder, and Paul Schalluck.

decision would make an impact of incalculable effect upon the whole world.

To many people it probably seems ridiculous and naive to believe that such a revolution as this could possibly take place in the world as it is today, beset by violence of every kind, and shadowed by the dreadful menace of total extinction.

Nevertheless, it is by no means the first time in the history of the world that great changes in thought and outlook have taken place. From generation to generation behaviour has altered, and thought has been transformed; machinery has taken the place of hand labour; distance has been conquered and oceans flouted; the man in armour has given place to the man in the space-suit.

Anything today seems possible, and yet mankind balks at the idea of peace based upon the removal of provocation and abandonment of violence, preferring to rely upon the so-called "great deterrent."

To disarm would not be an action of submission to evil, but a deed of strong conviction and courage; if non-violent resistance was called for, pacifists would be ready, but pacifism is not solely a method of defence against attack; it is a positive and a new policy for peace which by its very nature conquers fear and defeats aggression.

In the midst of the rush and rattle of modern existence few people have time "to stand and stare"; if they did they would know that miracles can and do occur, for the miracle of life is always before us. When people decide to do what is right, the miracle of peace will occur; we must be ready for it.

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